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THE WHOLE ART OF GOVERNMENT CONSISTS IN THE ART OF BEING HONEST.—Jefferson.

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Jeffersonian Republican.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

To the Senate and

House of Representatives of the U. S.

If any People ever had cause to render up thanks to the Supreme Being for parental care and protection extended to them in all the trials and difficulties to which they have been from time to time exposed, we certainly are that People. From the first settlement of our forefathers on this continent—through the dangers attendant upon the occupation of a savage wilderness—through a long period of Colonial dependence—through the war of the Revolution—in the wisdom which led to the adoption of the existing Republican forms of Government—in the hazards incident to a war subsequently waged with one of the most powerful nations of the earth—in the increase of our population—in the spread of the arts and sciences, and in the strength and durability conferred on political institutions emanating from the People and sustained by their will—the superintendence of an overruling Providence has been plainly visible.

As preparatory, therefore, to entering once more upon the high duties of legislation, it becomes us humbly to acknowledge our dependence upon Him as our guide and protector, and to implore a continuance of His parental watchfulness over our beloved country. We have new cause for the expression of our gratitude in the preservation of the health of our fellow citizens, with some partial and local exceptions, during the past season—for the abundance with which the earth has yielded up its fruits to the labors of the husbandman—for the renewed activity which has been imparted to commerce—for the revival of trade in all its departments—for the increased rewards attendant on the exercise of the mechanic arts—for the continued growth of our population and the rapidly reviving prosperity of the whole country. I shall be permitted to exchange congratulations with you, gentlemen of the Houses of Congress, on these auspicious circumstances, and to assure you, in advance, of my ready disposition to concur with you in the adoption of all such measures as shall be calculated to increase the glory of our constituents and to advance the happiness of our common country.

Since the last adjournment of Congress, the Executive has relaxed no effort to render inseparable the relations of amity which so happily exist between the United States and other countries. The treaty lately concluded with Great Britain has tended greatly to increase the good understanding which a reciprocity of interest is calculated to encourage, and it is most ardently to be hoped that nothing may transpire to interrupt the relations of amity which it is so obviously the policy of both nations to cultivate.

A question of much importance still remains to be adjusted between them. The territorial limits of the two countries in relation to what is commonly known as the Oregon territory, still remain in dispute. The United States would be at all times indisposed to aggrandize themselves at the expense of any other nation; but while they would be restrained by principles of honor, which should govern the conduct of nations as well as that of individuals, from setting up a demand for territory which does not belong to them, they would as unflinchingly consent to a surrender of their rights. After the most rigid, and as far as practicable, unbiassed examination of the subject, the United States have always contended that their rights appertain to the entire region of country lying on the Pacific, and embraced within the 42^d and 49th 40' of North latitude. This claim being controverted by Great Britain, those who have preceded the present Executive, actuated, no doubt, by an earnest desire to adjust the matter upon terms mutually satisfactory to both countries, have caused to be submitted to the British Government, propositions for settlement and final adjustment, which, however, have not proved heretofore acceptable to it. Our Minister at London has, under instructions, again brought the subject to the consideration of that Government; and while nothing will be done to compromise the rights, or honor of the United States, every proper expedient will be resorted to in order to bring the negotiation now in the progress of resumption, to a speedy and happy termination. In the meantime it is proper to remark, that many of our citizens are either already established in the territory, or are on their way thither for the purpose of forming permanent settlements, while others are preparing to follow—and in view of these facts, I must repeat the recommendation contained in previous messages, for the establishment of military posts, at such places, on the line of travel, as will furnish security and protection to our happy adventurers against hostile tribes of Indians inhabiting those extensive regions. Our laws should also follow them, so modified as the circumstances of the case may seem to require. Under the influence of our free system of government, new republics are destined to spring up, at

no distant day, on the shores of the Pacific, similar in policy and in feeling to those existing on this side of the Rocky Mountains, and giving a wider and more extensive spread to the principles of civil and religious liberty.

I am happy to inform you that the cases which have arisen, from time to time, of the detention of American vessels by British cruisers on the coast of Africa; under pretence of being engaged in the slave trade, have been placed in a fair train of adjustment. In the case of the *William & Francis*, full satisfaction will be allowed. In the case of the *Tygris* and *Seamew*, the British Government admits that satisfaction is due. In the case of the *Jones*, the sum accruing from the sale of that vessel and cargo will be paid to the owners—while I cannot but flatter myself that full indemnification will be allowed for all damages sustained by the detention of the vessel—and in the case of the *Douglass*, her Majesty's Government has expressed its determination to make indemnification. Strong hopes are therefore entertained, that most, if not all these cases will be speedily adjusted. No new cases have arisen since the ratification of the Treaty of Washington; and, it is confidently anticipated, that the slave trade, under the operation of the eighth article of that treaty, will be altogether suppressed.

The occasional interruption experienced by our fellow citizens engaged in the fisheries on the neighboring coast of Nova Scotia, has not failed to claim the attention of the Executive. Representations upon this subject have been made, but as yet no definitive answer to those representations has been received from the British Government.

Two other subjects of comparatively minor importance, but nevertheless of too much consequence to be neglected, remain still to be adjusted between the two countries. By the Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, of July, 1815, it is provided that no higher duties shall be levied in either country on articles imported from the other, than on the same articles imported from any other place. In 1836, rough rice, by act of Parliament, was admitted from the coast of Africa into Great Britain on the payment of a duty of one penny a quarter, while the same articles from all other countries, including the U. States, was subjected to the payment of a duty of twenty shillings a quarter. Our Minister at London has from time to time brought this subject to the consideration of the British Government, but so far without success. He is instructed to renew his representations upon it.

Some years since a claim was preferred against the British Government on the part of certain American merchants, for the return of export duties paid by them on shipments of woollen goods to the United States, after the duty on similar articles exported to other countries had been repeated, and consequently in contravention of the commercial convention between the two nations securing to us equality in such cases. The principle on which the claim rests has long since been virtually admitted by Great Britain, but obstacles to a settlement have from time to time been interposed, so that a large portion of the amount claimed has not yet been refunded. Our Minister is now engaged in the prosecution of the claim, and I cannot but persuade myself that the British Government will no longer delay its adjustment.

I am happy to be able to say that nothing has occurred to disturb in any degree the relations of amity which exist between the United States and France, Austria and Russia, as well as with the other Powers of Europe, since the adjournment of Congress. Spain has been agitated with internal convulsions for many years, from the effects of which it is to be hoped she is destined speedily to recover—when, under a more liberal system of commercial policy on her part, our trade with her may again fill its old, and so far as her continental possessions are concerned, its almost forsaken channels, thereby adding to the mutual prosperity of the two countries.

The Germanic Association of Customs and Commerce, which, since its establishment in 1833, has been steadily growing in power and importance, and consists at this time of more than twenty German States, and embraces a population of 27,000,000 of people united for the purposes of commercial intercourse with each other and with foreign states, offers to the latter the most valuable exchanges on principles more liberal than are offered in the fiscal system of any other European power. From its origin, the importance of the German Union has never been lost sight of by the United States. The industry, morality, and other valuable qualities of the German nation, have all ways been well known and appreciated. On this subject I invite the attention of Congress to the report of the Secretary of State, from which it will be seen that while our cotton is admitted free of duty, and the duty on rice has been much reduced, which has already led to a greatly increased consumption, a strong disposition has been recently evinced by that great body to reduce, upon certain conditions, their present duty on tobacco. This being the first intimation of a concession on this interesting subject ever made by any European power, I cannot but regard it as well calculated to remove the only impediment which has so far existed to the most liberal commercial intercourse between us and them. In this view, our Minister at Berlin, who has heretofore industriously pursued the subject, has been instructed to enter upon the negotiation of a commercial treaty, which, while it will open new advantages to the agricultural interests of the United States, and a more free and expanded field for commercial operations, will affect injuriously no existing interest of the Union. Should the negotiation be crowned with success, its results will be communicated to both Houses of Congress.

I communicate herewith certain despatches received from our Minister at Mexico, and also a correspondence which has recently occurred between the Envoy from that Republic and the Secretary of State. It must be regarded as not a little extraordinary that the Government of Mexico, in anticipation of a public discussion, which it has been pleased to infer from newspaper publications,

as likely to take place in Congress, relating to the annexation of Texas to the United States, should have so far anticipated the result of such discussion as to have announced its determination to visit any such anticipated decision by a formal declaration of war against the United States. If designed to prevent Congress from introducing that question, as a fit subject for its calm deliberation and final judgment, the Executive has no reason to doubt that it will entirely fail of its object. The Representatives of a brave and patriotic people will suffer no apprehension of future consequences to embarrass them in the course of their proposed deliberations. Nor will the Executive Department of the Government fail, for any such cause, to discharge its whole duty to the country.

The war which has existed for so long a time between Mexico and Texas has, since the battle of San Jacinto, consisted for the most part of predatory incursions, which, while they have been attended with much of suffering to individuals, and have kept the borders of the two countries in a state of constant alarm, have failed to approach to any definitive result. Mexico has fitted out no formidable armament by land or by sea for the subjugation of Texas. Eight years have now elapsed since Texas declared her independence of Mexico, and during that time she has been recognized as a sovereign power by several of the principal civilized States. Mexico, nevertheless, perseveres in her plans of conquest, and refuses to recognize her independence. The predatory incursions to which I have alluded, have been attended, in one instance, with the breaking up of the courts of justice by the seizing upon the persons of the judges, jury and officers of the court, and dragging them along with unarmed, and therefore noncombatant citizens, into a cruel and oppressive bondage, thus leaving crime to go unpunished, and morality to pass unimproved. A border warfare is evermore to be deprecated, and over such a war as has existed for so many years between these two States, humanity has had great cause to lament. Nor is such a condition of things to be deplored only because of the individual suffering attendant upon it. The effects are far more extensive. The Creator of the Universe has given man the Earth for his resting place, and its fruits for his subsistence. Whatever, therefore, shall make the first or any part of it a scene of desolation, affects injuriously his heritage, and may be regarded as a general calamity. Wars may sometimes be necessary; but all nations have common interest in bringing them speedily to a close. The U. States have an immediate interest in seeing an end put to the state of hostilities existing between Mexico and Texas. They are our neighbors, of the same continent, with whom we are not only desirous of cultivating the relations of amity, but of the most extended commercial intercourse, and to practice all the rights of a neighborhood hospitality. Our own interests are deeply involved in the matter, since, however neutral may be our course of policy, we cannot hope to escape the effects of a spirit of jealousy on the part of both of the powers. Nor can this Government be indifferent to the fact that a warfare, such as is waged between those two nations, is calculated to weaken both powers, and finally to render them, and especially the weaker of the two, the subjects of interference on the part of the stronger and more powerful nations, which, intent only on advancing their own peculiar views, may sooner or later attempt to bring about a compliance with terms, as the condition of their interposition, alike derogatory to the nation granting them, and detrimental to the interests of the United States. We could not be expected quietly to permit any such interference to our disadvantage. Considering that Texas is separated from the United States by a mere geographical line, that her territory, in the opinion of many, formed a portion of the territory of the United States, that it is homogenous in its population and pursuits with the adjoining States, makes contributions to the commerce of the world in the same articles with them, and that most of her inhabitants have been citizens of the United States, speak the same language and live under similar political institutions with ourselves, this Government is bound by every consideration of interest as well as sympathy, to see that she shall be left free to act, especially in regard to her domestic affairs, unawed by force, and unrestrained by the policy or views of other countries. In full view of all these considerations, the Executive has not hesitated to express to the Government of Mexico how deeply it deprecated a continuance of the war, and how anxiously it desired to witness its termination.

I cannot but think that it becomes the United States, as the oldest of American Republics, to hold a language to Mexico upon this subject of an unambiguous character. It is time that this war had ceased. There must be a limit to all wars; and if the parent State, after an eight years struggle has failed to reduce to submission a portion of its subjects standing out in revolt against it, and who have not only proclaimed themselves to be independent, but have been recognized as such by other Powers, she ought not to expect that other nations will quietly look on, to their obvious injury, upon a protraction of hostilities. These United States threw off their colonial dependence, and established independent Governments; and Great Britain, after having wasted her energies in the attempt to subdue them for a less period than Mexico has attempted to subjugate Texas, had the wisdom and justice to acknowledge their independence, thereby recognizing the obligation which rested on her as one of the family of nations. An example thus set by one of the proudest as well as most powerful nations of the earth, it could in no way disparage Mexico to imitate. While, therefore, the Executive would deplore any collision with Mexico, or any disturbance of the friendly relations which exist between the two countries, it cannot permit that Government to control its policy, whatever it may be, towards Texas; but will treat her as by the recognition of her independence, the United States have long since declared they would do, as entirely independent of Mexico. The high obligations of public duty may enforce, from the constituted authorities of the United States a

policy which the course persevered in by Mexico will have mainly contributed to produce; and the Executive in such a contingency, will with confidence throw itself upon the patriotism of the people to sustain the Government in its course of action.

Measures of an unusual character have recently been adopted by the Mexican Government calculated in no small degree to affect the trade of other nations with Mexico, and to operate injuriously to the United States. All foreigners by a decree of the 23d day of September, and after six months from the day of its promulgation, are forbidden to carry on the business of selling by retail any goods within the confines of Mexico. Against this decree our Minister has not failed to remonstrate.

The trade heretofore carried on by our citizens with Sante Fe, in which much capital was already invested, and which was becoming of daily increasing importance, has suddenly been arrested by a decree of virtual prohibition on the part of the Mexican Government. Whatever may be the right of Mexico to prohibit any particular course of trade, to the citizens or subjects of foreign powers, this late procedure, to say the least of it, wears a harsh and unfriendly aspect.

The instalments on the claims recently settled by the Convention with Mexico have been punctually paid as they have fallen due, and our Minister is engaged in urging the establishment of a new commission in pursuance of the Convention for the settlement of unadjusted claims.

With the other American States our relations of amity and good will have remained uninterrupted. Our Minister near the Republic of New Grenada, has succeeded in effecting an adjustment of the claim upon that Government for the schooner "By Chance," which had been pending for many years. The claim for the brig "Morris," which had its origin during the existence of the Republic of Columbia, and indemnification for which, since the dissolution of that Republic, has devolved on its several members, will be urged with renewed zeal.

I have much pleasure in saying that the Government of Brazil has adjusted the claim upon that Government in the case of the schooner "John S. Bryan," and that sanguine hopes are entertained that the same spirit of justice will influence its councils in arriving at an early decision upon the remaining claims; thereby removing all cause of dissension between two powers, whose interests are to some extent interwoven with each other.

Our Minister at Chili has succeeded in inducing a recognition by that Government, of the adjustment effected by his predecessor of the first claims in the case of the "Macedonian." The first instalment has been received by the claimants in the United States.

Notice of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty with Peru, which will take place at Lima, has not yet reached this country, but is shortly expected to be received, when the claims upon that Republic will doubtless be liquidated and paid.

In consequence of a misunderstanding between this Government and that of Buenos Ayres, occurring several years ago, this Government has remained unrepresented at that court, while a minister from it has been constantly resident here.—The causes of irritation have, in a great measure, passed away, and it is in contemplation, in view of important interests, which have grown up in that country, at some early period during the present session of Congress, with the concurrence of the Senate, to restore diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Under the provision of an act of Congress of the last session, a minister was despatched from the United States to China, in August of the present year, who, from the latest accounts, we have from him, was at Suez, in Egypt, on the 25th of September last, on his route to China.

In regard to the Indian tribes residing within our jurisdictional limits, the greatest vigilance of the Government has been exerted to preserve them at peace among themselves, and to inspire them with feelings of confidence in the justice of this Government, and to cultivate friendship with the border inhabitants. This has happily succeeded to a great extent; but it is a subject of regret that they suffer themselves in some instances to be imposed upon by artful and designing men—and this notwithstanding all the efforts of the Government to prevent it.

The receipts into the Treasury for the calendar year 1843, exclusive of loans, were little more than eighteen millions of dollars; and the expenditures, exclusive of payments on the public debt, will have been about twenty-three millions of dollars. By the act of 1842, a new arrangement of the fiscal year was made, so that it should commence on the 1st day of July, in each year. The accounts and estimates for the current fiscal year, will show that the loans and Treasury notes made and issued before the close of the last Congress, to meet the anticipated deficiency, have not been entirely adequate. Although on the 1st of October last, there was a balance in the Treasury in consequence of the provision thus made of \$3,914,082 77, yet the appropriations already made by Congress will absorb that balance, and leave a probable deficiency of two millions of dollars at the close of the present fiscal year. There are outstanding Treasury notes to about the amount of four millions six hundred thousand dollars; and should they be returned upon the Treasury during the fiscal year, they will require provision for their redemption. I do not, however, regard this as probable, since they have obviously entered into the currency of the country, and will continue to form a portion of it, if the system now adopted be continued. The loan of 1841, amounting to \$5,672,976 88, falls due on the 1st of January, 1845, and must be provided for, or postponed by a new loan. And unless the resources of the revenue should be materially increased by you, there will be a probable deficiency for the service of the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1845, of upwards of about four millions of dollars.

The delusion incident to an enormously excessive paper circulation, which gave a fictitious value to every thing, and stimulated adventure and speculation to an extravagant extent, has been

happily succeeded by the substitution of the precious metals and paper promptly redeemable in specie, and thus false values have disappeared, and a sounder condition of things has been introduced. This transition, although intimately connected with the prosperity of the country, has nevertheless been attended with much embarrassment to the Government, in its financial concerns. So long as the foreign importers could receive payment for their cargoes in a currency of greatly less value than that in Europe, but fully available here in the purchase of our agricultural productions, their profits being immeasurably augmented by the operation, the shipments were large and the revenues of the Government became superabundant. But the change in the character of the circulation from a nominal and apparently real value, in the first stages of its existence, to an obviously depreciated value in its second, so that it no longer answered the purposes of exchange or barter, and its ultimate substitution by a sound metallic and paper circulation combined, has been attended by diminished importations, and a consequent falling off in the revenue. This has induced Congress, from 1837, to resort to the expedient of issuing Treasury notes, and finally of funding them, in order to supply deficiencies. I cannot, however, withhold the remark that it is in no way compatible with the dignity of the Government that a public debt should be created in time of peace to meet the current expenses of the Government, or that temporary expedients should be resorted to an hour longer than it is possible to avoid them. The Executive can do no more than apply the means which Congress places in its hands for the support of Government; and happily for the good of the country and for the preservation of its liberties, it possesses no power to levy exactions on the people, or to force from them contributions to the public revenue in any form. It can only recommend such measures as may, in its opinion, be called for by the wants of the public service, to Congress, with whom alone rests the power to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises." This duty has upon several occasions heretofore been performed. The present condition of things gives a flattering promise that trade and commerce are rapidly reviving, and fortunately for the country, the sources of revenue have only to be opened, in order to prove abundant.

While we can anticipate no considerable increase in the proceeds of the sales of the public lands for reasons perfectly obvious to all, for several years to come, yet the public lands cannot otherwise than be regarded as the foundation of the public credit. With so large a body of the most fertile lands in the world under the control and at the disposal of the Government, no one can reasonably doubt the entire ability of the Government to meet its engagements under every emergency. In seasons of trial and difficulty similar to those through which we are passing, the capitalist makes his investment in the Government stocks with the most assured confidence of ultimate reimbursement; and whatever may be said of a period of great financial prosperity, such as existed for some years after 1833, I should regard it as suicidal in a season of financial embarrassment, either to alienate the lands themselves, or the proceeds arising from their sales. The first and paramount duty of those to whom may be entrusted the administration of public affairs, is to guard the public credit. In re-establishing the credit of this central Government, the readiest and most obvious mode is taken to restore the credit of the States. The extremities can only be made sound by producing a healthy action in the Central Government, and the history of the present day fully establishes the fact, that an increase in the value of the stocks of this Government will, in a majority of instances, be attended by an increase in the value of the stocks of the States. It should, therefore, be a matter of general congratulation that amidst all the embarrassments arising from surrounding circumstances, the credit of the Government should have been so fully restored that it has been enabled to effect a loan of seven millions of dollars to redeem that amount of Treasury notes, on terms more favorable than any that have been offered for many years. And the 6 per cent. stock which was created in 1842, has advanced in the hands of the holders nearly twenty per cent. above its par value. The confidence of the people in the integrity of their Government has thus been signally manifested. These opinions relative to the public lands do not in any manner conflict with the observance of the most liberal policy towards those of our fellow-citizens who press forward into the wilderness and are the pioneers in the work of its reclamation. In securing to all such their rights of pre-emption, the Government performs but an act of retributive justice for sufferings encountered and hardships endured, and finds ample remuneration in the comforts which its policy ensures and the happiness which it imparts.

Should a revision of the tariff, with a view to revenue, become necessary in the estimation of Congress, I doubt not you will approach the subject with a just and enlightened regard to the interests of the whole Union. The principles and views which I have heretofore had occasion to submit, remain unchanged. It can, however, never be too often repeated, that the prominent interest of every important pursuit of life, requires for success, permanency and stability in legislation.—These can only be attained by adopting as the basis of action, moderation in all things, which is as indispensably necessary to secure the harmonious action of the political as of the animal system. In our political organization, no one section of the country should desire to have its supposed interests advanced at the sacrifice of all others; but Union being the great interest, equally pre-ious to all, should be fostered and sustained by mutual concessions and the cultivation of that spirit of compromise from which the Constitution itself proceeded.

You will be informed, by the report from the Treasury Department, of the measures taken under the act of the last session, authorizing the re-issue of Treasury notes in lieu of those